NOW or NEVER.

OR,

The Last Cast for England.

Humbly Addreſſed to Both Houſes of LORDS and COMMONS.

AS nothing is ſo Fatal and Deſtructive to the Nation, as a Corruption of their Repreſentatives in Parliament; and as ſuch wretched Betrayers of their Country deſerve all the Ignominy and Reſentment of thoſe by whom they have been Intruſted: So, on the other hand, thoſe Worthy *Patriots*, who lay themſelves out for the good of their Country, who watch and guard againſt every Danger that ſeems to threaten her Peace or Welfare, do truly merit all the Praiſe and Gratitude, that can be paid them from a Senſible, and a Thankful People.

And it muſt, with Juſtice, be own'd, That this Parliament has, in a Great meaſure, anſwer'd the Expectation of their *Principals*, by obtaining ſo many good Country Bills, which had been denied to their Predeceſſors. Particularly, that Excellent, and ſo long wiſh'd for Bill, *For Regulating of Trials in Caſes of Treaſon.* And that for which You will be remembered to after Ages; *Rectifying the groſs Abuſes in the Election of Members to Serve in Parliament*, which was a Corruption of our very Fountain, an Error in the firſt Concoction, not afterwards to be amended; and now moſt Honourably Reform'd by thoſe who were Principally concern'd, this *Bill* having mov'd from the *Commons*. To whom the Thanks of the Nation is alſo juſtly Paid for the Pains they have taken in the Bill of *Coinage*, of which there was ſo great Need.

They have done ſo many Good things, that I dare preſume they will not be offended at the true *Engliſh* Freedom of any who ſhall, with Decency, offer to their Conſideration, wherein they may happily Perfect what they have ſo Auſpiciouſly begun.

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In order to which, I do, with all Humility, and due Regard to Your Honours; and in the deepeſt Senſe, and Concern for my Country, offer;

I. THAT all the Pains You have ſo Worthily taken for the Regulation of our *Silver* Coin will be loſt, unleſs You take effectual Care to ſecure a Sufficient Quantity of it from being ſent Abroad; ſuch a Quantity as will be Sufficient to Circulate in the Nation, and carry on Trade. Otherwiſe what You Propoſed as a Remedy will prove much worſe than the Diſeaſe. For Your Honours cannot but be ſenſible that, by the new Regulation, all the *Silver* Coin of the Kingdom will ſoon come into one Hand: And that His preſent Occaſions call for more than all the now Current *Silver* Caſh in the Nation, of which, Your Honours have made an Eſtimate, and found it (to our Aſtoniſhment) not to exceed three Millions. But when it ſhall be new Coin'd, it will hardly amount to one Million: Becauſe what has been already Melted is found to Weigh from 7 to 15 Pound Weight, *per Cent.* none higher; whereas every 100 *l.* Sterling weighs 32 Pound Weight.

Now beſides the vaſt Arrears due to the *Army* and *Navy* (notwithſtanding that all Demanded was every Year given for the War) and what muſt go to Supply the Deficiency of paſt Funds, there is more Demanded now by the Miniſters of the ſeveral Foreign Princes (or Penſioners) of the Confederacy, than all the abovementioned Silver Caſh will anſwer, when it comes to be New Coin'd. One of theſe *Miniſters* having been lately in the *Tower*, and at *Weſtminſter*, where the Caſh is melted down; and having inquired into the Quantity, that was to be Coin'd, ſaid, that it would not all be ſufficient to anſwer the Demands of his Maſter alone. And a Yacht lies ready to carry to *Holland*, ſome of our new Melted Caſh, to ſtop Gaps there, which they will Coin into their baſe *Dutch Skillings*, and make a double Advantage; for we muſt take thoſe again in Exchange for our New Coin'd Money, when we carry it over, next Campaign.

And if Your Honours take not ſpeedy Care, the New Melted Mony will be Tranſported, as faſt as it can be Coin'd, or put into *Ingots* and *Barrs*, to Supply the *Confederates*; more of whom are Gaping for it than it can Satisfie.

And as for our *Gold*, the Loſs in ſending that beyond Sea bears Proportion to that of our *Clipt Silver*: For our *Guineas* go in *Holland*, but for 22 *s.* while they are with us at 30 *s.* and *Luid'ores* go there for no more than 17 *s.* 6 *d.* And here they are 23 *s.* a Piece. Inſomuch that the carrying of *Guineas* back and forward, to and from *Holland* is become, of it ſelf, a Trade with the *Dutch*; and it is ſuch a one, as in a few Returns, muſt double the Principal Summ; and muſt eat us out, if a Stop be not immediately put to it: Which I cannot ſee how it can be done, if our *Silver* be Tranſported: We muſt then lie at the Mercy of the *Dutch*, to put what Value they pleaſe upon our *Gold*.

II. AND now give me leave, before our laſt Stake is taken from Us, to caſt one ſad Look back upon all that Maſs of Mony we have already given. We have not given leſs than Six Millions a Year, one Year with another, for theſe Seven Years paſt, which amounts to 42 Millions. Now to compute in a

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more familiar, and ſenſible way, Ten thouſand Pounds is a Waggon Load, ſo that a Million is 100 Waggon Loads; and Forty two Millions are Four thouſand Two hundred Waggon Loads; which, allowing but five Horſes to a Waggon, would reach from *London* to *Harwich*: which is ſuch a Sight of Mony as *Mexico* or *Peru* cannot ſhew: And more than has been given by Parliament (the former *Revolution* of 41 only excepted) ſince *William* the Conqueror, put it all together.

III. TO anſwer this Prodigious Flux of Mony, good Management would have been expected, and Great things done for the Good and Intereſt of the Nation.

As for the Intereſt of *England*. 1. In Providing ſufficient Convoys (as the *Dutch* have done) to Secure the Actual Trade. 2. In Defending our Factories abroad, in *Guinea*, and elſewhere, to ſecure our Trading for the Future. 3. In having Cautionary *Towns* delivered to Us in *Holland*, and among our other *Confederates*, whom we pretend to Aſſiſt, (as Q. *Elizabeth*, and K. *Charles* 2. of late, and other of our Natural Born Princes have done, on leſſer Occaſions) to Enſure Us, at their hands, for what we Expend in their Defence: At leaſt for ſo much as ſhall exceed our Reaſonable Quota in the War. 4. In truſting the Intereſt of *England* to be Manag'd by *Dutch* Ambaſſadors in Foreign Courts, who are Inveſted likewiſe with the Character of Ambaſſadors from *England*: Eſpecially conſidering that *Holland* was, is, and muſt be the Great Rival to *England* for the Trade of the World: And conſequently, how can it conſiſt with the Intereſt of *England* to have *Dutchmen* in our *Parliaments* and *Councils*? Eſpecially, that they ſhould be Commanders in Chief of our *Armies*, whether at Home or Abroad? Of this, Your Lordſhips were very ſenſible, and Propoſed Remedies, as of other Grievances, in Your *Addreſs* of the 18 of *February*, 1692, which I have hereunto Annexed, to ſave Repetition, and for the Weight which it ought to carry in the Nation, as well as for the Proper Vindication of Your Lordſhip's Honours; and your Juſt Concern for the Honour and Intereſt of Your Country. And becauſe no Regard has been had to the ſaid *Addreſs*, *Foreigners* Commanding in Chief, to this Day, in *England*, as well as elſewhere, I would Humbly move, that the Honourable Houſe of Commons ſhould join with Your Lordſhips in Renewing the ſaid *Addreſs*, or other ſuch like, as to Your Wiſdoms ſhall ſeem Meet, including other Juſt Grievances, which have been Practiſed ſince that time, to the *Diſhonour*, as well as *Prejudice* of *England*; wherein it is hoped Your Honours will not forget that Mark of *Slavery*, or *Conqueſt*, which the *Dutch* have impoſed upon Us, in Preſſing our Seamen out of our Merchantſhips, which go thither, or forcing the Maſters to Redeem them at 25 Gilders a Man, or what Summ they pleaſe to Dictate.

Surely the Redreſs of theſe Abuſes, and much more, might have been expected, for the Good and Intereſt of *England*, in Return for the many Millions beforementioned, ſo freely (not to ſay Laviſhly) beſtowed.

IV. AND when the Ways and Means were ſo hard to be found, and grow harder and harder, to Raiſe ſuch Incredible Sums, common Gratitude or Ho-

neſty, would have oblig'd to the beſt Management that could be; and not to *Spur a Free Horſe to Death*. But, on the Contrary, greater Grants have been of late obtain'd from the Crown, of mere Special Favour, and that by *Foreigners*, than ever were Given, even for the Rewards of Greateſt Services, by the moſt Profuſe of all our Kings. Inſomuch that many of the *Dutch* have Purchaſed Great Eſtates, and Enrich'd themſelves beyond Seas, by the *Penſions* and *Gifts*, which they have Receiv'd here. Nay not only *Mony*, without meaſure, has been Given to them; but the *Lands* and *Inheritance* of the *Crown*, has been alienated to them, as the Eſtate of *Theobalds*, and the Lands belonging to the Prince of *Wales*, Granted to *Benting*, Created Earl of *Portland*, and his Heirs. The Forfeited Eſtate of Sir *Pat. Trant*, of Three thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, to *Rovignie*, Created Viſcount *Galloway*. And the Eſtates of the Earl of *Limerick*, and Lord of *Slane*, worth above Five thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, to *Ginkle*, Created Earl of *Athlone*. Let me add the Duke of *York*'s Eſtate in *Ireland*, Granted to Mrs. *Villars*, for ſecret Service, and her Heirs, worth Fourteen thouſand Pounds a Year. I have to add to theſe, what I have not yet found Notic'd, of a Grant in *May*, 1694. to *Hen. de Naſſaw*, Seignior *d' Overkerk*, his Heirs and Aſſigns, of the Yearly Rent of *Eight hundred Pounds*, Payable Half Yearly, out of the Revenues of the Crown in *South-Wales*, and Two hundred Pounds *per Annum*, out of the Revenues of the Crown in *North-Wales*. The firſt Payment was the *Michaelmas* after the Date. There is another Grant to the ſame *Overkerk* in *May*, 1695. of an Annuity of *Two thouſand Pounds per Annum*, out of the Revenue of the Dutchy of *Cornwall*, to hold to him and his Heirs for ever. This is Tranſcribed out of the Dockets.

And by the Anſwer given to Your Addreſs concerning the Lands of the Pr. of *Wales*, Granted to *Meen Heer Benting*, now E. of *Portland*, that he muſt be Gratified *another way*, it would ſeem, that if all theſe Grants be Re-aſſumed by Act of Parliament, it muſt be by way of *Purchaſe*; for that theſe *Grantees* are to have the Value anſwer'd to them in Mony: And that muſt be Spar'd out of the Taxes You Appropriate to the War; and the Arrears at the End of this Year, to be by You paid, will be ſo much the Greater.

V. THERE is a Greater Danger yet approaching than all this Conſumption of our *Mony*; And that is, the total Subjection or *Conqueſt* (as ſome have been pleaſed already to ſtile it) of the Nation, by the Importation of Greater Numbers of *Foreigners*; and theſe under a *Foreign* General, who now Commands in *England*; I cannot ſay they will Subdue the Nation, and Govern by the Law of Arms; But it will be ſo far in their Power, that whoever Reflects how *Oliver*, by a Standing Army of about 20000 Men, kept under the many more Thouſands of *England*, who were not only willing to Aſſert the King's Cauſe, but made ſeveral Attempts, in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, and their Inſurrections were as often Suppreſs'd; and how a few Guards were ſufficient to Cut off the King's Head, at his own Gate, when there were 100 times as many in the Nation, and even in *London*, who would have been Glad to have Sacrificed their Lives for His Reſcue, if it could have been attempted with any

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Probability. But an Armed Power is an heavy thing; And it is very Difficult for *Looſe*, *Unarm'd*, *Undiſciplin'd* People to *Plot*, *Combine*, *Aſſemble*, *Arm*, and *Marſhal* themſelves without being *Diſcovered* and *Cruſh'd* by a ſmall Standing Force, and a Face of Authority: I ſay, that whoever conſiders this, and many more Inſtances may be given of the like Nature, will think it an extreme Hazard if an Army of *Foreigners* be Permitted in this Kingdom; eſpecially if our *Engliſh* Troops be ſent Abroad to make room for them. And it is hard if out of 87440 Men, which is the *Quota* of *England* for this Year 1696. as delivered in to the Houſe of Commons by the Earl of *Ranelaugh*, *per* Order from his Maſter; I ſay, it is hard if out of this Number 20000 may not be ſpar'd to remain in *England*, and to be Commanded by *One of His Majeſty's Subjects Born in this Kingdom*, according to the annexed Addreſs of Your Lordſhips.

The Pretence for bringing more *Foreigners* into *England*, is the Rumour of a Deſign'd Invaſion from *France*.

But if that were true, and not only Calculated to ſqueez more Mony, as it has been every Seſſion of Parliament; it ſhould rather be an Argument to keep the *Engliſh* Forces Here; and let the *Foreigners* we have already, go Defend their own Countries. But to Encreaſe the *Foreigners*, and ſend away the *Engliſh*, carries a ſtrange Aſpect; and I will not preſume to Inform Your Honours of the Plain and Fatal Conſequences.

But this we have an Account of, That *Flat-Bottom'd Boats* are Prepar'd, and more Preparing at *Fluſhing*, and other Places, whoſe Uſe is only for the Tranſportation of Men and Horſe. And that application has been made for *Foreign* Troops to be ſent hither. That the *Dutch* have excuſed themſelves, becauſe they cannot ſpare their Troops from their own Neceſſary Defence. That thereupon others are agreed for of all Nations, *Bavarians*, *Lunenburgers*, *Heſſians*, &c. Our old Friends the *Saxons* and *Danes* too, and *Swedes*, if they can be procur'd: and there is no doubt but that there will be enough found, to come for good Hire from Barren and Northern Climes, to ſo Rich and Noble a Country as *England*, where never any *Army* was known to Starve.

But inſtead of bringing over more *Foreigners*, it would become the Wiſdom of an *Engliſh Parliament*, to know the Reaſon why thoſe *Foreign* Troops, which the P. of *Orange* brought over with him, are not all this time, ſent back, as he Promiſed in his Declarations. All the Reaſon which could be pretended for their Coming, was not to *Conquer* the Nation, for that he expreſly diſowns in his *Declaration*, but for the Security of his Perſon, in caſe Oppoſition had been made to him Here. But that being long ſince over, they muſt now be kept here for other Ends. The *DUTCH Blue Regiment* of Guards (to name one among others) has not taken its Turn into *Flanders*, ſince the beginning of the War. Only ſometimes *Batallions* have been taken out of it: But it is left to Guard *White-Hall*, while the *Engliſh* are ſent to Defend their *Frontiers*, and bore the Brunt at *Stein-Kirk*, *Landen*, *Namure*, &c.

But beſides theſe *Foreigners* in open Arms amongſt us, your Country do's expect from Your Honours to take ſome Inſpection in the Secret Militia of the

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French Refugees, who are privately Arm'd, Marſhal'd, and Diſciplin'd in the Out-Skirts, in and about *London*. This cannot be unknown to many of Your Honors. And they have been Recommended very affectionately to You; upon the 23 of *Nov.* laſt, which muſt be for Subſiſtance-Mony, or Half-Pay; for it cannot be merely upon the account of *Charity*; becauſe, if that were the Caſe, there are much more Lamentable Spectacles of the *Engliſh* Nation (none of whom have been Recommended) and more deſerving Your Honour's Conſideration than any others whatſoever; Theſe are the Many now *Begging*, and *Starving* Wives and Children of *Engliſh Seamen* and *Soldiers*, who have loſt their Lives in this War, and whoſe Families are Ruin'd for the want of that Pay, which they Earn'd with their *Blood*.

Beſides theſe, there are Multitudes of others, whom the Conſequences of the War, has ruin'd in their *Trade*, and are reduc'd to extreme Poverty; and not a Few who now *Beg* in our Streets, are brought to that Condition by being Supplanted in their *Trades*, and Under-ſold by theſe *French Refugees*; not one of whom ever yet put Hand to Plow, or took to any Country Labour, for which we might be the better for them, but ſet up their *Trades* in their *Garrets*, and being us'd to greater Frugality, are able to Under-Sell the *Engliſh*, and find their Profit ſo much in it, that they think not of the more Laborious Farming and Improving the Country, in which Method, they might be made *Uſeful*, as they are now *Hurtful*, and a *Burthen* to the Country.

By theſe Means there is not one of the *French Refugees* ſeen Begging in our Streets, except one, who, I am told, was plac'd in Your Honour's way to *Weſtminſter*, to move your Compaſſion. Nay, many of them have grown Rich, and built Fair Houſes, and Tenant the beſt New-built Houſes in the *Strand*, and elſewhere.

None of them have loſt any thing, but many of them have Liv'd and Improv'd by this War, which has Ruined ſo many of the *Engliſh*.

But I envy nothing that they have Gained; nor would I obſtruct any Act of Charity towards them, or any others.

But Charity begins at Home. And our own Poor, who fill all the *Streets*, *Lanes* and *Fields* about the Town (ſeveral of whom, our *Bills of Mortality* of late, tell us, have been *Starv'd*) ought to have the Preference of theſe, who live, tho Poor, yet Sufficiently, in their own Houſes and Lodgings.

In the next place. Giving of them *Arms* cannot come under the Notion of *Charity*, and their Numbers are ſo Conſiderable, as to be extreme Dangerous, ſhould they be ill inclin'd, or that any Uſe, contrary to the Intereſt of *England*, ſhould ever be made of them.

There are not fewer than 12, or 15 Thouſand of them, in and about *London* and *Weſtminſter*, which are, in a manner, Beſieg'd by them; for they People almoſt all the *Suburbs*.

And their *Principles* and *Temper* are ſo well known; that, upon valuable Conſiderations, it is not doubted that they would ſcruple to *Glen-Coe*, *Gaffney*, or *Dewit*; I mean the *Generality* of them, and there are as few *Exceptions* among 'em

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of *Good Nature*, or *Generoſity*, ſince they came hither, as amongſt any Sort of People that we know.

And beſides thoſe in *London*, there are Great Numbers of them through moſt of the other Great Towns in *England*.

Now if, beſide all theſe, and all the *Dutch* Troops now in *England*, Your Honours ſhall Permit more *Foreign Forces* to be Imported, your Country will have Reaſon to think themſelves Betray'd by You, whom they have Intruſted as their *Watchmen* and *Guardians*, to ſee that no Evil come to them, which is in the Power of Your Honours to Prevent.

And as they Gratefully acknowledge Your Honour's Care and Zeal for their Preſervation, in Rejecting the Bill for *Naturalization* of all Foreigners, which has been Preſs'd every Seſſion of Parliament almoſt ſince the Revolution: And gives us more than an Apprehenſion of ſtrange Deſigns, not fit to be mention'd.

As Your Honour's true *ENGLISH Courage* and *Wiſdom*, has herein rendred You very Dear, and Eſteem'd by your Country, it will Double all theſe Ties, if You will free their Hearts from this moſt Dreadful of all their other Fears, the Coming of more Foreign Troops amongſt Us, by a Bill, that no more Foreign Troops ſhall be imported into *England*, or *Ireland*, without Conſent of Parliament; And likewiſe (unleſs ſome good Cauſe can be ſhewn to the contrary) that all the Foreign Troops now in *England*, ſhould be ſent back. And let *England* be Defended by *Engliſhmen*.

VI. BUT laſtly (that I may trouble Your Honours no further) I humbly offer, Whether ſome Means may not be found out to End this ſo Expenſive, and Threatning a War, wherein we have (May I not ſay *Unneceſſarily*) Engag'd our ſelves, and *Cauſleſly* continue, unleſs we have made a *Demand*, and that Reaſonable *Satisfaction* has been Refuſed to Us, and to the reſt of our *Confederates*.

In order to which, May it not be proper for Your Honours to know what Propoſitions of Peace have been made by the *French King* to the *Mediators* for a Peace; the Kings of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Portugal*; And that Your Honours ſhould thereby Judge whether the *Confederates*, or any of them, have Rejected reaſonable Terms, and upon what Conſiderations; that You may know in what Proportion you ought to Contribute to the War? And whether it be the War of *England* which the *Confederates* maintain (as they pretend) Or if *England* do but aſſiſt to Defend their Rights? For this will alter the Caſe exceedingly, and not lay a Burthen upon Us; ſo out of all purpoſe Diſproportionable to what the other *Confederates* do Contribute; who, indeed do all live upon Us, and inſtead of *Confederates* or *Allies*, are *Penſioners* and *Mercenaries*, who declare, That they will fight no longer for Us, than we Pay them; For that they can have Peace when they pleaſe. And therefore, whether it be not High time for Us to make an End of this War, if we may have Terms, which are Honorable, and for the Intereſt of the Nation? How otherwiſe do we Propoſe to End this War? Not till we Conquer, or Drain *France*? But what if we be Drain'd firſt? How far are we from it? Is it the utmoſt that we Propoſe to our ſelves, to Live one Year longer? And not to think of *Peace* while we have One Penny left to Carry on the War? And what ſort of *Peace*; or *No*

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Peace ſhall we then obtain? Or will Peace Recover us, when we have Bled ſo far, as not to have Mony enough, which is our *Blood*, to circulate in our Veins? Surely a Remedy is to be thought on before that Diſmal Day! And the Opportunity is now in Your Honours hands. You know not if ever you have another. And therefore bethink your Selves in time, what your ſinking *Country*, your *Honour*, what *Juſtice*, what *Gratitude*, what *Conſcience*, and *Religion*, what *GOD* requires from you, in this Critical Juncture.

The Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament Aſſembled: Preſented to His Majeſty, the 23d *of this inſtant* February, 1692. *With His Majeſty's* Anſwer.

ORdered by the *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal* in Parliament Aſſembled, That the *ADDRESS* Preſented to His *MAJESTY* yeſterday by this Houſe, and His *Majeſty's Anſwer* thereunto, ſhall be Printed and Publiſhed.

Matth. Johnſon, Cler' Parliamentor'

Die Sabbati 18. Februarii, 1692.

WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Aſſembled, Conceiving it to be Our Duty to Your Majeſty, and the Kingdom, to Offer Our Opinion and Advice, upon Occaſions of Importance relating to the Publick, and eſpecially in this Conjuncture, Do Humbly lay before Your Majeſty, for the preſent, theſe following Reſolutions of the Houſe, which We conceive are highly Neceſſary to the Safety and Honor of Your Majeſty's Perſon and Government.

That the Chief Commander of the Engliſh *Forces under Your Majeſty, ſhall be a Subject Born in Your Majeſty's Dominions.*

That a Capitulation having been made in the Year 1678, *by which it was Agreed, That the* Engliſh *Commander, and Officer in every Degree, is to Command any other Confederate Officer of the ſame Rank, except thoſe of Crown'd Heads, without any Regard to the Date of their Reſpective Commiſſions, It is the Humble Advice of this Houſe, That the ſame Preference may be ſtill Continued to Your Majeſty's Officers,* the contrary Practice in this laſt War, being, as we Conceive, to the Diminution of the Honor that belongeth to the Crown of *England*, and to the general Diſſatisfaction of Your Majeſty's Subjects.

That Twenty thouſand Engliſh *Soldiers ſhould Remain in* England, *during the Year* 1693, *and be under the Command of One of Your Majeſty's Subjects, born in this Kingdom.*

That no Foreigner ſhall be of the Board of Ordnance, or Keeper of the Stores in the Tower *of* London.

That for Incouragement of the Engliſh, *there may not be ſo many Strangers Imployed in the Office of the Ordnance.*

There having been many Abuſes of late, under pretence of Preſſing Men for the Fleet, It is the Humble Advice of this Houſe, That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to give effectual Order, That all thoſe who have Committed any Offences of that kind, or ſhall Commit them for the future, may be immediately Caſhiered, and Proſecuted with the utmoſt Rigor of the Law.

Feb. 24. 1692. *The Speaker Reported His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Addreſs yeſterday,* That His Majeſty ſaid, He would take it into Conſideration.

FINIS.